

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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R 161603Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9994
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 10761

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, IS, GW
SUBJECT: DAYAN VISIT TO GERMANY: AN ASSESSMENT

REF: BONN 19972

1. SUMMARY: SEEN FROM ISRAEL, THE DAYAN VISIT WAS A SUCCESS, BOTH FROM THE PUBLIC RELATIONS VIEWPOINT AND BECAUSE DAYAN MANAGED, IN SPITE OF GERMAN DISAGREEMENT ON CERTAIN ISSUES, TO OBTAIN GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAELI POSITIONS AND TACIT GERMAN AGREEMENT NOT TO INTERFERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS. THE CORDIAL TONE OF THE TRIP RECEIVED MORE EMPHASIS HERE THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TALKS. END SUMMARY
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2. THE PRESSURE OF OTHER EVENTS HAS PREVENTED US FROM RESPONDING TO THE REPORT CONTAINED IN REFTEL OF FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN'S VISIT TO GERMANY LAST MONTH. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE VISIT WITH MFA OFFICIALS AND WITH OFFICERS OF THE FRG EMBASSY HERE AND HAVE REVIEWED MEDIA REPORTING--ALL OF WHICH PROVIDE A MORE FAVORABLE

IMPRESSION OF THE TONE OF THE VISIT THAN CONTAINED IN REFTEL, ALTHOUGH THE SAME GENERAL DISAGREEMENTS ARE NOTED.

3. HAVA BITAN OF THE MFA EUROPEAN DIVISION HAD ONLY PRAISE FOR THE TRIP, COMBINED WITH CLAIMS OF SUCCESS AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FAVORABLE RECEPTION DAYAN RECEIVED AND THE WILLINGNESS OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND OTHERS TO GIVE MORE THAN AMPLE TIME FOR MEETINGS WITH THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER. ACCORDING TO BITAN, DAYAN WAS SUCCESSFUL IN HIS OBJECTIVE OF "HALTING WHAT HE FELT IN HIS HEART WAS GERMAN AND EUROPEAN EROSION AWAY FROM 242 AND 338." SHE CLAIMS DAYAN RECEIVED TACIT AGREEMENT THAT THE FRG, ALTHOUGH RESERVING ITS RIGHT TO DISAGREE, WOULD MAINTAIN ITS BALANCED APPROACH AND NOT DO ANYTHING TO HURT ISRAEL IN THE SENSITIVE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

4. ERICH STARNITZKY OF THE GERMAN EMBASSY TOLD US HE FELT THE EFFECT OF THE VISIT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS WAS MINIMAL BECAUSE THOSE RELATIONS WERE GOOD AND WERE BASED ON SOLID UNDERPINNINGS. THAT BASIS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT ONLY A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE VISIT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD BROKEN HIS PERSONAL EMBARGO ON SPEAKING WITH GERMANS BY CORDIALLY RECEIVING THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR, KLAUS SCHUETZ. STARNITZKY CLAIMED THAT THE TRIP SERVED TO PROVIDE
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ISRAEL WITH SOME ASSURANCES AND DEMONSTRATED THAT BOTH SIDES CAN BE OPEN AND FRANK WITHOUT DAMAGING BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE SAW AN EXAMPLE OF THE TRIP'S SUCCESS IN THE FACT THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WAS INVITED TO VISIT ISRAEL AND HAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO DO SO AT A DATE TO BE DETERMINED LATER IN 1978. STARNITZKY SAID THAT THE ATMOSPHERE WAS EXTREMELY CORDIAL AND WAS NOT SO HARSH AS THE GERMAN PRESS WOULD LEAD ONE TO BELIEVE. HE SAID DAYAN COMPENSATED FOR THE UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSION CREATED BY HIS TOAST (IN WHICH HE SPOKE OF RESURGENT NAZISM IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC) BY BEING OVERCOMPLIMENTARY ABOUT THE NEW GERMANY IN LATER RECEPTIONS. THE GERMAN HOSTS GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT DAYAN REGRETTED HIS IMPULSIVE STATEMENTS. THE MESSAGE WAS NONETHELESS CLEAR--DON'T MEDDLE, BUT THE WAY IT WAS CONVEYED IN PRIVATE MEETINGS WAS NOT ARBITRARY.

5. ACCORDING TO GERMAN EMBASSY REPORTS FROM BONN, DAYAN ARGUED THAT EGYPT IS NOT ISOLATED IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND THAT THE U.S. AND EUROPE TEND TO OVERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF SAUDI ARABIA WHICH

HE CLAIMED HAS MONEY BUT NO LEADING PERSONALITIES.
THE FRG WENT ON RECORD WITH THEIR APPREHENSION THAT
THE ARAB REACTION, COMBINED WITH FEAR ON THE PART OF
THE EGYPTIAN PUBLIC THAT THE SAUDIS WILL CUT THE
SUBSIDIES, WILL IN THE LONG RUN HURT SADAT INTERNALLY.
GERMAN SCENARIOS DO NOT AT THIS STAGE PREDICT A PRO-
NASSER OR PRO-SOVIET REACTION, BUT THEY DO INDICATE
THE FRG'S APPREHENSION THAT INTERNAL ANXIETY COULD
RESULT IN INSTABILITY IN EGYPT AND PERHAPS CREATE
A SOURCE OF DISCONTENT.

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6. AT ONE POINT DAYAN ASKED SCHMIDT HOW EUROPE WOULD
REACT IF ISRAEL AND EGYPT CAME TO SEPARATE AGREEMENT,
TO WHICH SCHMIDT REPLIED THAT THE FRG BELIEVES IT IS
NECESSARY TO CONTINUE WITH THE IDEA OF AN OVERALL
AGREEMENT, AND IT IS THEREFORE DIFFICULT FOR THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A SEPARATE
AGREEMENT. HE DID ADD THAT THE FRG WOULD CONSIDER
THIS IDEA ONLY IF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WERE MADE
IN CONJUNCTION WITH A BROAD DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE
FOR A PALESTINIAN SOLUTION. THE FRG AT NO TIME WENT
SO FAR AS SAYING THAT IT SUPPORTS SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ALSO

MADE CLEAR THAT, ALTHOUGH THE NINE SUPPORTS SADAT IN PEACE EFFORTS AND WOULD CONTINUE ITS EVENHANDED POLICY (WHICH SUITED DAYAN), SECURITY SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT BE BASED ON TERRITORIAL GAINS AND THAT THERE
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WOULD NOT BE PEACE WITHOUT SOME SORT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIANS.

7. ISRAELI PRESS REACTION TO THE VISIT WAS GENERALLY FAVORABLE, WITH LEAD ARTICLES EMPHASIZING THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE VISIT AND DOWNPLAYING DIFFERENCES OVER THE SPECIFICS OF NEGOTIATIONS AND DAYAN'S CRITICISMS. DESCRIBING THE TRIP AS A "PUBLIC RELATIONS VICTORY FOR ISRAEL," SARAH HONING OF THE JERUSALEM POST CLAIMED DAYAN SECURED A GERMAN UNDERTAKING NOT TO RECOGNIZE THE PLO UNLESS THE LATTER CHANGES ITS STANCE TOWARD ISRAEL AND ALSO OBTAINED GERMAN PROMISES TO SUPPORT SADAT'S MIDDLE EAST MOVES. THE IMPRESSION IS GIVEN BY THE ARTICLES, THAT THE FRG AGREED THAT SOME OF DAYAN'S CRITICISMS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WERE LEGITIMATE AND THAT IN GENERAL "ISRAEL IS VIEWED MORE POSITIVELY FOLLOWING THE VISIT THAN BEFORE ...DAYAN SUCCESSFULLY PLAYED ON GERMAN DORMANT ANTI-FRENCH SENTIMENT 'NOT TO BE DRAGGED ALONG BY THE FRENCH.'"

8. COMMENT: WHILE IT IS TRUE, AS THE MFA AND THE GERMAN EMBASSY HAVE POINTED OUT TO US, THAT THE TRIP WAS IN RESPONSE TO A LONG-STANDING INVITATION WHICH WAS FINALIZED IN LATE SEPTEMBER IN NEW YORK BETWEEN GENSCHER AND DAYAN, ITS TIMING WAS ALSO IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE VISIT PROVIDED THE ISRAELIS WITH A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO SEEK TO COMENT THEIR SUPPORT AND TO KEEP OPPOSITION LIMITED AND LOW-KEYED AT A MOMENT OF DELICATE BALANCE IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THEY COULD SAY TO THE GERMANS THAT IT WAS VITAL AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE THAT NO ONE (I.E. EUROPE) SAY OR DO ANYTHING WHICH COULD UPSET THE BALANCE BY GIVING THE ARABS LEVERAGE OR INDUCEMENT TO HARDEN THEIR NEGOTIATING
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STANCE.

9. THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN UNFAVORABLE REPORTS FROM BONN AND THOSE FROM ISRAEL COULD BE IN PART DUE TO THE FACT THAT BOTH THE MFA AND THE GERMAN EMBASSY HERE

ARE STRIVING TO MAINTAIN IN APPEARANCE AND CONTENT THE GOOD RELATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN BUILT UP OVER THE YEARS. BOTH SIDES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT: THE GERMANS MADE THEIR POINT THAT, WHILE THEY ARE WILLING TO ALLOW ISRAEL SOME BREATHING SPACE AND WILL USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO SUPPORT IN EUROPE, ISRAEL WILL HAVE TO BE REALISTIC. IF ISRAEL IS NOT WILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, THE GOI CAN HARDLY EXPECT EUROPE TO REFRAIN FROM PUBLIC CRITICISM OF ISRAELI POLICY. THE FRG ALSO TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOICE ITS CONCERNS AND FEARS REGARDING MODERATE ARABS (WHICH THE ISRAELIS PROBABLY AGAIN READ TO MEAN ISRAEL MUST MAKE CONCESSIONS). FOR THE ISRAELIS, DAYAN CAME AWAY SATISFIED THAT HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN HIS FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF KEEPING THE GERMANS ON THEIR PRESENT COURSE AND HAD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NON-INTERFERENCE BY THE EUROPEANS IN THIS DELICATE STAGE OF MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. VIETS

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